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ANTHROPOLOGY

AS A PRACTICAL SCIENCE

ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT MEETINGS OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION AT BIRMINGHAM, THE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF CAMBRIDGE, AND THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF OXFORD

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BY

SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

HON. FELLOW OF TRINITY HALL, CAMBRIDGE, AND FORMERLY PRESIDENT OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SECTION OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION AND OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BOMBAY, AND MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

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SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

Hon. Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and formerly President of the Anthropological Section of the British Association and of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, and Member of the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute

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PREFACE

In 1904 I addressed the Cambridge Antiquarian Society on the practical value of Anthropology at a time when it was proposed to take up the study thereof as part of the University course. In 1913 I took advantage of my position as President of Section H (Anthropology) of the British Association at Birmingham of impressing on the Section views similar to those expressed at Cambridge. The Birmingham address was followed up by a discussion. Since then I have twice had an opportunity of stating my ideas again, briefly on taking the chair at Professor Seligmann's inaugural lecture as Professor of Ethnology in the University of London, and at length before the Anthropological Society of Oxford in the presence of a number of candidates for the Indian Civil Service.

One result of the efforts made at Birmingham has been the acceptance by the University there of a series of valuable lectures on the practical as well as the scientific side of Cultural Anthropology by a competent and experienced anthropologist, Mr. A. R. Brown, of Cambridge. Another has been the formation of a Joint Committee of the British Association and the Royal Anthropological Institute to find ways and means of securing an officially supported training in anthropology for candidates

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for, and young officials in, the civil services of our colonies and dependencies. It appears to me, therefore, that the time has now come for a wider circulation of addresses and lectures on the general subject than has hitherto been possible.

Through the courtesy of the bodies concerned—the British Association, the Royal Anthropological Institute, the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and the Oxford Anthropological Society—I am able to publish this little volume in the hope that it will be of some service to those interested in the important subject of Cultural Anthropology—the study of the ways and thoughts of mankind.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE NASH,
WORCESTER, 1914.

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ANTHROPOLOGY

AS A PRACTICAL SCIENCE

CHAPTER I

THE ADMINISTRATIVE VALUE OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, delivered at Birmingham in 1913.

THE title of the body of which those present at this meeting form a section is, as all my hearers will know, the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and it seems to me therefore that the primary duty of a sectional President is to do what in him lies, for the time being, to forward the work of his section. This may be done in more than one way: by a survey of the work done up to date and an appreciation of its existing position and future prospects, by an address forwarding it in some particular point or aspect, by considering its applicability to what is called the practical side of human life. The choice of method seems to me to depend on the circumstances of each meeting, and I am about to choose the last of those above mentioned, and to confine my address to a consideration of the administrative value of anthropology, because the locality

in which we are met together and the spirit of the present moment seem to indicate that I shall best serve the interests of the anthropological section of the British Association by a dissertation on the importance of this particular science to those who are or may hereafter be called upon to administer the public affairs of the land in which they may reside.

I have to approach the practical aspect of the general subject of anthropology under the difficulty of finding myself once more riding an old hobby, and being consequently confronted with views and remarks already expressed in much detail. But I am not greatly disturbed by this fact, as experience teaches that the most effective way of impressing ideas, in which one believes, on one's fellow man is to miss no opportunity of putting them forward, even at the risk of repeating what may not yet have been forgotten. And as I am convinced that the teachings of anthropologists are of practical value to those engaged in guiding the administration of their own or another country, I am prepared to take that risk.

Anthropology is, of course, in its baldest sense the study of mankind in all its possible ramifications, a subject far too wide for any one science to cover, and therefore the real point for consideration on such an occasion as this is not so much what the students of mankind and its environments might study if they chose, but what the scope of their studies now actually is, and whither it is tending. I propose, therefore, to discuss the subject in this limited sense.

What then is the anthropology of to-day, that claims to be of practical value to the administrator? In what directions has it developed?

Perhaps the best answer to these questions is to be procured from our own volume of "Notes and Queries on Anthropology," a volume published under the arrangements of the Royal Anthropological Institute for the British Association. This volume of "Notes and Queries" has been before the public for about forty years, and is now in the fourth edition, which shows a great advance on its predecessors and conforms to the stage of development to which the science has reached up to the present time.

The object of the "Notes and Queries" is stated to be "to promote accurate anthropological observation on the part of travellers (including all local observers) and to enable those who are not anthropologists themselves to supply information which is wanted for the scientific study of anthropology at home." So, in the heads under which the subject is considered in this book, we have exhibited to us the entire scope of the science as it now exists. These heads are (1) Physical Anthropology, (2) Technology, (3) Sociology, (4) Arts and Sciences. It is usual, however, nowadays to divide the subject into two main divisions—physical and cultural anthropology.

Physical Anthropology aims at obtaining "as exact a record as possible of the structure and functions of the human body, with a view to determining how far these are dependent on inherited and racial factors, and how far they vary with

environment." This record is based on two separate classes of physical observations: firstly on descriptive characters, such as types of hair, colour of the eyes and skin, and so on, and actual measurement; and secondly on attitudes, movements, and customary actions. By the combined study of observations on these points physical heredity is ascertained, and a fair attribution of the race or races to which individuals or groups belong can be arrived at.

But anthropology, as now studied, goes very much further than inquiry into the physical structure of the human races. Man, "unlike other animals, habitually reinforces and enhances his natural qualities and force by artificial means." He does, or gets done for him, all sorts of things to his body to improve its capacities or appearance, or to protect it. He thus supplies himself with sanitary appliances and surroundings, with bodily ornamentation and ornaments, with protective clothing, with habitations and furniture, with protection against climate and enemies, with works for the supply of water and fire, with food and drink, drugs and medicine. And for these purposes he hunts, fishes, domesticates animals, and tills the soil, and provides himself with implements for all these, and also for defence and offence, and for the transport of goods, involving working in wood, earth, stones, bones, shells, metals and other hard materials, and in leather, strings, nets, basketry, matting and weaving, leading him to what are known as textile industries. Some of this work has brought him to mine and quarry, and to employ mechanical aids in the shape of machinery, however rude and simple.

The transport of himself and his belongings by land and water has led him to a separate set of industries and habits : to the use of paths, roads, bridges, and halting places, of trailers, sledges, and wheeled vehicles ; to the use of rafts, floats, canoes, coracles, boats, and ships, and the means of propelling them, poles, paddles, oars, sails, and rigging. The whole of these subjects is grouped by anthropologists under the term Technology, which thus becomes a very wide subject, covering all the means by which a people supplies itself with the necessaries of its mode of livelihood.

In order to successfully carry on what may be termed the necessary industries or even to be in a position to cope with them, bodies of men have to act in concert, and this forces mankind to be gregarious, a condition of life that involves the creation of social relations. To understand, therefore, any group of mankind, it is essential to study Sociology side by side with Technology. The subjects for inquiry here are the observances at crucial points in the life history of the individual—birth, puberty, marriage, death, daily life, nomenclature, and so on ; the social organisation and the relationship of individuals. On these follow the economics of the social group, pastoral, agricultural, industrial, and commercial, together with conceptions as to property and inheritance (including slavery), as to government, law and order, politics and morals ; and finally the ideas as to war and the external relations between communities.

We are still, however, very far from being able to understand in all their fullness of development

even the crudest of human communities, without a further inquiry into the products of their purely mental activities, which in the "Notes and Queries" are grouped under the term "Arts and Sciences." Under this head are to be examined, in the first place, the expression of the emotions to the eye by physical movements and conditions, and then by gestures, signs and signals, before we come to language, which is primarily expressed by the voice to the ear, and secondarily to the eye in a more elaborate form by the graphic arts—pictures, marks and writing. Man further tries to express his emotions by what are known as the Fine Arts; that is by modifying the material articles which he contrives for his livelihood in a manner that makes them represent to him something beyond their economic use—makes them pleasant, representative or symbolical—leading him on to draw, paint, enamel, engrave, carve and mould. In purely mental efforts this striving to satisfy the artistic or æsthetic sense takes the form of stories, proverbs, riddles, songs, and music. Dancing, drama, games, tricks and amusements are other manifestations of the same effort, combining in these cases the movements of the body with those of the mind in expressing the emotions.

The mental processes necessary for the expression of his emotions have induced man to extend his powers of mind in directions now included in the term "Abstract Reasoning." This had led him to express the results of his reasoning by such terms as reckoning and measurement, and to fix standards for comparison in such immaterial but all essential

matters as enumeration, distance, surface, capacity, weight, time, value and exchange. These last enable him to reach the idea of money, which is the measurement of value by means of tokens, and represents perhaps the highest economic development of the reasoning powers common to nearly all mankind.

The mental capacities of man have so far been considered only in relation to the expression of the emotions and of the results of abstract reasoning; but they have served him also to develop other results and expressions equally important, which have arisen out of observation of his surroundings, and have given birth to the Natural Sciences: astronomy, meteorology, geography, topography and natural history. And further they have enabled him to memorise all these things by means of records, which in their highest form have brought about what is known to all of us as history, the bugbear of impulsive and shallow thinkers, but the very backbone of all solid opinion.

The last and most complex development of the mental processes, dependent upon all the others according to the degree to which they themselves have been developed in any given variety of mankind, is, and has always been, present in every race or group on record from the remotest to the most recent time in some form or other and in a high degree. Groups of men observe the phenomena exhibited by themselves or their environment, and account for them according to their mental capacity as modified by their heredity. Man's bare abstract reasoning, following on his observation of such

phenomena, is his philosophy, but his inherited emotions influence his reasoning to an almost controlling extent and induce his religion, which is thus his philosophy or explanation of natural phenomena as affected by his hereditary emotions, producing that most wonderful of all human phenomena, his belief. In the conditions, belief, faith, and religion must and do vary with race, period and environment.

Consequent on the belief, present or past of any given variety of mankind, there follow religious practices (customs as they are usually called) based thereon, and described commonly in terms that are familiar to all, but are nevertheless by no means even yet clearly defined: theology, heathenism, fetishism, animism, totemism, magic, superstition, with soul, ghost, and spirit, and so on, as regards mental concepts; worship, ritual, prayer, sanctity, sacrifice, taboo, etc., as regards custom and practice.

Thus have the anthropologists, as I understand them, shown that they desire to answer the question as to what their science is, and to explain the main points in the subject of which they strive to obtain and impart accurate knowledge based on scientific inquiry: that is, on an inquiry methodically conducted on lines which experience has shown them will lead to the minimum of error in observation and record.

I trust I have been clear in my explanation of the anthropologists' case, though in the time at my disposal I have been unable to do more than indicate the subjects they study, and have been obliged to exercise restraint and to employ conden-

sation of statement to the utmost extent that even a long experience in exposition enables one to achieve. Briefly, the science of anthropology aims at such a presentation and explanation of the physical and mental facts about any given species or even group of mankind as may correctly instruct those to whom the acquisition of such knowledge may be of use. In this instance, as in the case of the other sciences, the man of science endeavours to acquire and pass on abstract knowledge, which the man of affairs can confidently apply in the daily business of practical life.

It will have been observed that an accurate presentation of the physical and mental characteristics of any species of mankind which it is desired to study is wholly dependent on accurate inquiry and report. Let no one suppose that such inquiry is a matter of instinct or intuition, or that it can be usefully conducted empirically or without due reference to the experiences of others; in other words without sufficient preliminary study. So likely indeed are the uneducated in such matters to observe and record facts about human beings inaccurately, or even wrongly, that about a fourth part of the "Notes and Queries" is taken up with showing the inquirer how to proceed, and in exposing the pitfalls into which he may unconsciously fall. The mainspring of error in anthropological observation is that the inquirer is himself the product of heredity and environment. This induces him to read himself, his own unconscious prejudices and inherited outlook on life, into the statements made to him by those who view life from perhaps a totally

different and incompatible standpoint. To the extent that the inquirer does this, to that extent are his observations and report likely to be inaccurate and misleading. To avoid error in this respect, previous training and study are essential, and so the "Notes and Queries on Anthropology," a guide compiled in co-operation by persons long familiar with the subject, is as strong and explicit on the point of how to inquire as on that of what to inquire about.

Let me explain that these statements are not intended to be taken as made *ex cathedrâ*, but rather as the outcome of actual experience of mistakes made in the past. Time does not permit me to go far into this point, and I must limit myself to the subject of Sociology for my illustration. If a man undertakes to inquire into the social life of a people or tribe as a subject apart, he is committing an error, and his report will almost certainly be misleading. Such an investigator will find that religion and technology are inextricably mixed up with the sociology of any given tribe, that religion intervenes at every point not only of sociology but also of language and technology. In fact, just as in the case of all other scientific research, the phenomena observable by the anthropologists are not the result of development along any single line alone, but of a progression in a main general direction, as influenced, and it may be even deflected, by contact and environment.

If again the inquirer neglects the simple but essential practice of taking notes, not only fully, but also immediately or as nearly so as practicable,

he will find that his memory of facts, even after a short time, has become vague, inexact, and incomplete, which means that reports made from memory are more likely to be useless than to be of any scientific value. If voluntary information or indirect and accidental corroboration are ignored, if questions are asked and answers accepted without discretion, if exceptions are mistaken for rules, then the records of an inquiry may well mislead and thus become worse than useless. If leading or direct questions are put without due caution, and if the answers are recorded without reference to the natives' and not the inquirer's mode of classifying things, crucial errors may easily arise. Thus, in many parts of the world, the term "mother" includes all female relatives of the past or passing generation, and the term "brother" the entire brotherhood. Such expressions as "brother" and "sister" may and do constantly connote relationships which are not recognised at all amongst us The word "marriage" may include "irrevocable betrothal," and so on; and it is very easy to fall into the trap of the mistranslation of terms of essential import, especially in the use of words expressing religious conceptions. The conception of godhead has for so long been our inheritance that it may be classed almost as instinctive. It is nevertheless still foreign to the instincts of a large portion of mankind.

If also, when working among the uncultured, the inquirer attempts to ascertain abstract ideas, except through concrete instances, he will not succeed in his purpose for want of representative

terms. And lastly, if he fails to project himself sufficiently into the minds of the subjects of inquiry, or to respect their prejudices, or to regard seriously what they hold to be sacred, or to keep his countenance while practices are being described which to him may be disgusting or ridiculous—if indeed he fails in any way in communicating to his informants, who are often super-sensitively suspicious in such matters, the fact that his sympathy is not feigned—he will also fail in obtaining the anthropological knowledge he is seeking. In the words of the "Notes and Queries" on this point, "Nothing is easier than to do anthropological work of a certain sort, but to get to the bottom of native customs and modes of thought, and to record the results of inquiry in such a manner that they carry conviction, is work which can be only carried out properly by careful attention."

The foregoing considerations explain the scope of our studies and the requirements of the preliminary inquiries necessary to give those studies value. The further question is the use to which the results can be put. The point that at once arises here for the immediate purpose is that of the conditions under which the British Empire is administered. We are here met together to talk scientifically, that is, as precisely as we can: and so it is necessary to give a definition to the expression "Imperial Administration," especially as it is constantly used for the government of an empire, whereas in reality it is the government that directs the administration. In this address I use the term "administration" as the disinterested management

of the details of public affairs. This excludes "politics" from our purview, defining that term as the conduct of the government of a country according to the opinions or in the interests of a particular group or party.

Now in this matter of administration the position of the inhabitants of the British Isles is unique. It falls to their lot to govern, directly or indirectly the lives of members of nearly every variety of the human race. Themselves Europeans by descent and intimate connection, they have a large direct interest in every other general geographical division of the world and its inhabitants. It is worth while to pause here for a moment to think, and to try and realise, however dimly, something of the task before the people of this country in the government and control of what are known as the subject races.

For this purpose it is necessary to throw our glance over the physical extent of the British Empire. In the first place, there are the ten self-governing components of the Dominion of Canada and that of Newfoundland in North America, the six Colonial States in the Commonwealth of Australia, with the Dominion of New Zealand in Australasia, and the four divisions of the Union of South Africa. All these may be looked upon as indirectly administered portions of the British Empire. Then there is the mediatised government of Egypt, with its appanage, the directly British administered Sudan, which alone covers about a million square miles of territory in thirteen provinces, in Northern Africa. These two areas occupy, as it were, a position between the self-governing and the directly-governed areas.

Of these, there are in Europe Malta and Gibraltar, Cyprus being officially included in Asia. In Asia itself is the mighty Indian Empire, which includes Aden and the Arabian Coast on the West and Burma on the East, and many islands in the intervening seas, with its fifteen provinces and some twenty categories of Native States " in subordinate alliance," that is, under general Imperial control. To these are added Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and the Malay States, federated or other, North Borneo and Sarawak, and in the China Seas Hongkong and Wei-hai-wei. In South Africa we find Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Rhodesia ; in British West Africa, Gambia, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria ; in Eastern and Central Africa, Somaliland, the East Africa Protectorate, Uganda, Zanzibar, and Nyassaland ; while attached to Africa are the Mauritius, Seychelles, Ascension and St. Helena. In Central and South America are Honduras and British Guiana, and attached to that continent the Falkland Islands, and also Bermuda and the six colonies of British West Indies. In the Pacific Ocean are Fiji, Papua and many of the Pacific Islands.

I am afraid that once more during the course of this exposition I have been obliged to resort to a concentration of statement that is almost bewildering. But let that be. If one is to grapple successfully with a large and complex subject, it is necessary to try and keep before the mind, so far as possible, not only its magnitude, but the extent of its complexity. This is the reason for bringing before you, however briefly and generally, the main geographical details of the British Empire. The first point to realise

on such a survey is that the mere extent of such an Empire makes the subject of its administration an immensely important one for the British people.

The next point for consideration and realisation is that an empire, situated in so many widely separated parts of the world, must contain within its boundaries groups of every variety of mankind, in such numerical strength as to render it necessary to control them as individual entities. They do not consist of small bodies lost in a general population, and therefore negligible from the administrator's point of view, but of whole races and tribes or of large detachments thereof.

These tribes of mankind profess every variety of religion known. They are Christians, Jews, Mahommedans, Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, Animists and to use a very modern expression, Animatists, adherents of main religions followed by an immense variety of sects, governed, however loosely, by every species of philosophy that is or has been in fashion among groups of mankind, and current in every stage of development, from the simplest and most primitive to the most historical and complex. One has to bear in mind that we have within our borders the Andamanese, the Papuan, and the Polynesian, as well as the highly civilised Hindu and Chinese, and that not one of these, nor indeed of many other peoples, has any tradition of philosophy or religion in common with our own ; their very instincts of faith and belief following other lines than ours, the prejudices with which their minds are saturated being altogether alien to those with which we ourselves are deeply imbued.

The subjects of the British King-Emperor speak between them most of the languages of the world, and certainly every structural variety of human speech has its example somewhere in the British Empire. A number of these languages is still only in the process of becoming understood by our officials and other residents among their speakers, and let there be no mistake as to the magnitude of the question involved in the point of language alone in British Imperial regions. A man may be what is called a linguist. He may have a working knowledge of the main European languages and of the great Oriental tongues, Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani, which will carry him very far indeed among the people—in a sense, in fact, from London to Calcutta—and then, without leaving that compact portion of the British Possessions known as the Indian Empire, with all its immense variety of often incompatible subordinate languages and dialects, he has only to step across the border into Burma and the Further East to find himself in a totally different atmosphere of speech, where not one of the sounds, not one of the forms, not one of the methods, with which he has become familiarised is of any service to him whatever. The same observation will again be forced on him if he transfers himself thence to Southern Africa or to the Pacific Ocean. Let him wander amongst the North American Indians, and he will find the linguistic climate once more altogether changed.

Greater Britain may be said to exhibit all the many varieties of internal social relations that have been set up by tribes and groups of mankind—all the

different forms of family and general social organisation, of reckoning kinship, of inheritance and control of the possession of property, of dealing with the birth of children and their education and training, physical, mental, moral, and professional, in many cases by methods entirely foreign to British ideas and habits. For instance, infanticide as a custom has many different sources of origin.

Our fellow-subjects of the King follow, somewhere or other, all the different notions and habits that have been formed by mankind as to the relations between the sexes, both permanent and temporary, as to marriage and to what have been aptly termed supplementary unions. And finally, their methods of dealing with death and bringing it about, of disposing of the dead and worshipping them, give expression to ideas, which it requires study for an inhabitant of Great Britain to appreciate or understand. I may quote here as an example, that of all the forms of human head-hunting and other ceremonial murder that have come within my cognisance, either as an administrator or investigator, not one has originated in callousness or cruelty of character. Indeed, from the point of view of the perpetrators, they are invariably resorted to for the temporal or spiritual benefit of themselves or their tribe. In making this remark, I must not be understood as proposing that they should not be put down, wherever that is practicable. I am merely trying now to give an anthropological explanation of human phenomena.

In very many parts of the British Empire, the routine of daily life and the notions that govern it

often find no counterparts of any kind in those of the British Isles, in such matters as personal habits and etiquette on occasions of social intercourse. And yet, perhaps, nothing estranges the administrator from his people more than mistakes on these points. It is small matters—such as the mode of salutation, forms of address and politeness, as rules of precedence, hospitality, and decency, as recognition of superstitions, however apparently unreasonable —which largely govern social relations, which no stranger can afford to ignore, and which at the same time cannot be ascertained and observed correctly without due study.

The considerations so far urged to-day have carried us through the points of the nature and scope of the science of anthropology, the mental equipment necessary for the useful pursuit of it, the methods by which it can be successfully studied, the extent and nature of the British Empire, the kind of knowledge of the alien populations within its boundaries required by persons of British origin who would administer the Empire with benefit to the people dwelling in it, and the importance to such persons of acquiring that knowledge.

I now turn to the present situation as to this last point and its possible improvement, though in doing so I have to cover ground that some of those present may think I have already trodden bare. The main proposition here is simple enough. The Empire is governed from the British Isles, and therefore year by year a large number of young men is sent out to its various component parts, and to them must inevitably be entrusted in due course the

administrative, commercial, and social control over many alien races. If their relations with the foreign peoples with whom they come in contact are to be successful, they must acquire a working knowledge of the habits, customs, and ideas that govern the conduct of those peoples, and of the conditions in which they pass their lives. All those who succeed find these things out for themselves, and discern that success in administration and commerce is intimately affected by success in social relations, and that that in its turn is dependent on the knowledge they may attain of those with whom they have to deal. They set about learning what they can, but of necessity empirically, trusting to keenness of observation, because such self-tuition is, as it were, a side issue in the immediate and imperative business of their lives. But, as I have already said elsewhere, the man who is obliged to obtain the requisite knowledge empirically, and without any previous training in observation, is heavily handicapped indeed in comparison with him who has already acquired the habit of right observation, and, what is of much more importance, has been put in the way of correctly interpreting his observations in his youth.

To put the proposition in its briefest form: in order to succeed in administration a man must use tact. Tact is the social expression of discernment and insight, qualities born of intuitive anthropological knowledge, and that is what it is necessary to induce in those sent abroad to become eventually the controllers of other kinds of men. What is required, therefore, is that in youth they should have

imbibed the anthropological habit, so that as a result of having been taught how to study mankind, they may learn what it is necessary to know of those about them correctly, and in the shortest practicable time. The years of active life now unavoidably wasted in securing this knowledge, often inadequately and incorrectly even in the case of the ablest, can thus be saved, to the incalculable benefit of both the governors and the governed.

The situation has, for some years past, been appreciated by those who have occupied themselves with the science we are assembled here to promote, and several efforts have been made by the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, at any rate to bring the public benefits accruing from the establishment of anthropological schools before the Government and the people of this country.

In 1902 the Royal Anthropological Institute sent a deputation to the Government with a view to the establishment of an official Anthropometric Survey of the United Kingdom, in order to test the foundation for fears, then widely expressed, as to the physical deterioration of the population. In 1909 the Institute sent a second deputation to the present Government, to urge the need for the official training in anthropology of candidates for the Consular Service and of the Indian and Colonial Civil Services. There is happily every reason to hope that the Public Services Commission may act on the recommendations then made. This year (1913) the Institute returned to the charge and approached the Secretary of State for India, with a view to making anthropology

an integral feature of the studies of the Oriental Research Institute, to the establishment of which the Government of India had officially proposed to give special attention. The Institute has also lately arranged to deal with all questions of scientific import that may come before the newly constituted Bureau of Ethnology at the Royal Colonial Institute, in the hope with its co-operation of eventually establishing a great *desideratum*—an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology. It has further had in hand a scheme for the systematic and thorough distribution of local correspondents throughout the world.

At Oxford, anthropology as a serious study was recognised by the appointment, in 1884, of a Reader, who was afterwards given the status of a Professor. In 1885, it was admitted as a special subject in the Final Honours School of Natural Science. In 1904, a memorandum was drawn up by those interested in the study at the University, advocating a method of systematic training in it, which resulted in the formation of the Committee of Anthropology in the following year. This Committee has established a series of lectures and examinations for a diploma which can be taken as part of the degree course, but is open to all officers of the public services as well. By these means a School of Anthropology has been created at Oxford, which has already registered many students, among whom officers engaged in the administration of the British Colonies in Africa and members of the Indian Civil Service have been included. The whole question has been systematically taken up in all its aspects, the instruction, formal and informal, comprising physical

anthropology, psychology, geographical distribution, prehistoric archæology, technology, sociology, and philology.

At Cambridge, in 1893, there was a recognised Lecturer in Physical Anthropology, an informal office now represented by a Lecturer in Physical Anthropology and a Reader in Ethnology, regularly appointed by the University. In 1904, as a result of an expedition to Torres Straits, a Board of Anthropological Studies was formed, and a Diploma in Anthropology instituted, to be granted, not for success in examinations, but in recognition of meritorious personal research. At the same time, in order to help students, among whom were included officials in the African and Indian Civil Services, the Board established lectures on the same subjects as those taught at Oxford. This year, 1913, the University has instituted an Anthropological Tripos for its Degrees on lines similar to the others. The distinguishing feature of the Cambridge system is the prominence given to field work, and this is attracting foreign students of all sorts.

In 1909, joint representations were made by a deputation from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to both the India and Colonial Offices, advocating the training of Civil Service candidates and probationers in ethnology and primitive religion.

In 1904, the generosity of a private individual established a Lectureship in Ethnology in connection with the University of London, which has since developed into a Professorship of Ethnology with a Lectureship in Physical Anthropology. In the

same year the same benefactor instituted a Chair of Sociology. In 1909 the University established a Board of Anthropology, and the subject is now included in the curricula for the Degrees of the University. In and after 1914, Anthropology will be a branch of the Science Honours Degree. The Degree course of the future covers both physical and cultural anthropology in regard to zoology, palæontology, physiology, psychology, archæology, technology, sociology, linguistics and ethnology. There will also be courses in ethnology with special attention to field work for officials and missionaries, and it is interesting to note that students of Egyptology are already taking a course of lectures in ethnology and physical anthropology.

Though the Universities have thus been definite enough in their action where the authority is vested in them, it is needless to say that their representations to Governments have met with varying success, and so far they have not produced much practical result. But it is as well to note here that a precedent for the preliminary anthropological training of probationers in the Colonial Civil Service has been already set up, as the Government of the Sudan has directed that every candidate for its services shall go through a course of anthropology at Oxford or Cambridge. In addition to this, the Sudan Government has given a grant to enable a competent anthropologist from London to run a small scientific survey of the peoples under its administration. The Assam Government has arranged its ethnographical monographs on the lines of the British Association's "Notes and Queries" with much benefit to itself,

and it is believed that the Burma Government will do likewise.

Speaking in this place to such an audience as that before me, and encouraged by what has already been done elsewhere, I cannot think that I can be mistaken in venturing to recommend the encouragement of the study of anthropology to the University of such a city as Birmingham, which has almost unlimited interests throughout the British Empire. For it should be remembered that anthropological knowledge is as useful to merchants *in partibus* in dealing with aliens as to administrators so situated. Should this suggestion bear fruit, and should it be thought advisable some day to establish a School of Anthropology in Birmingham, I would also venture to point out that there are two requirements preliminary to the successful formation of almost any school of study. These are a library and a museum *ad hoc*. At Oxford there is a well known and well conducted anthropological museum in the Pitt Rivers Collection, and the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge contains collections of the greatest service to the anthropologist. Liverpool is also interesting itself in such matters. The Royal Anthropological Institute is forming a special library, and both that Institute and the University of London have the benefit of the splendid collections of the British Museum and of the Horniman Museum readily accessible. The libraries at Oxford and Cambridge are, I need hardly say, of world-wide fame. At all these places of learning, then, these requisites for this department of knowledge are forthcoming.

It were almost superfluous to state why they are requisites. Every student requires, not only competent teachers to guide him in his particular branch of study, but also a library and a museum close at hand, where he can find the information he wants and the illustration of it. Where these exist, thither it will be found that students will flock. Birmingham possesses peculiar facilities for the formation of both, as the city has all over the Empire its commercial representatives, who can collect the required museum specimens on the spot. The financial labours also of those who distribute these men over Greater Britain, and indeed all over the world, produce the means to create the library and the school, and their universal interests provide the incentive for securing for those in their employ the best method of acquiring a knowledge of men that can be turned to useful commercial purpose. Beyond these suggestions I will not pursue this point now, except to express a hope that this discourse may lead to a discussion thereon before this meeting breaks up.

Before I quit my subject I would like to be somewhat insistent on the fact that, though I have been dwelling so far exclusively on the business side, as it were, of the study of anthropology, it has a personal side as well. I would like to impress once more on the student, as I have often had occasion to do already, that whether he is studying of his own free will or at the behest of circumstances, there is hardly any better hobby in existence than this, or one that can be ridden with greater pleasure. It cannot, of course, be mastered in a day. At first the lessons will be a grind. Then, until they are well learnt,

they are irksome, but when fullness of knowledge and maturity of judgment are attained, there is, perhaps, no keener sense of satisfaction which human beings can experience than that which is afforded by this study. Its range is so wide, its phases so very many, the interests involved in it so various, that it cannot fail to pleasantly occupy the leisure hours from youth to full manhood, and to be a solace, in some aspect or other, in advanced life and old age.

The processes of discovery in the course of this study are of such interest in themselves that I should wish to give many instances, but I must confine myself now to one or two. The student will find on investigation, for instance, that however childish the reasoning of savages may appear to be on abstract subjects and however silly some of their customs may seem, they are neither childish nor silly in reality. They are almost always the result of "correct argument from a false premiss"—a mental process not unknown to civilised races. The student will also surely find that savages are not fools where their concrete interests are concerned, as they conceive those interests to be. For example, in commerce, beads do not appeal to savages merely because they are pretty things, except for purposes of adornment. They will only part with articles they value for particular sorts of beads which are to them money, in that they can procure in exchange for them, in their own country, something they much desire. They have no other reason for accepting any kind of bead in payment for goods. On few anthropological points can mistakes be

made more readily than on this, and when they are made by merchants, financial disaster can well follow, so that what I have already said elsewhere as to this may bear repetition in part here. Savages in their bargains with civilised man never make one that does not, for reasons of their own, satisfy themselves. Each side, in such a case, views the bargain according to its own interest. On his side, the trader buys something of great value to him, when he has taken it elsewhere, with something of little value to him, which he has brought from elsewhere, and then, and only then, can he make what is to him a magnificent bargain. On the other hand the savage is more than satisfied, because with what he has got from the trader he can procure from among his own people something he very much covets, which the article he parted with could not have procured for him. Both sides profit by the bargain from their respective points of view, and traders cannot, as a matter of fact, take undue advantage of savages, who, as a body, part with products of little or no value to themselves for others of vital importance, though these last may be of little or none to the civilised trader. The more one dives into recorded bargains, the more clearly one sees the truth of this view.

I have always advocated personal inquiry into the native currency and money, even of pre-British days, of the people amongst whom a Britisher's lot is cast, for the reason that the study of the mental processes that lead up to commercial relations, internal and external, the customs concerned with daily buying and selling, take one more deeply into

aliens' habits of mind and their outlook on practical life than any other branch of research. The student will find himself involuntarily acquiring a knowledge of the whole life of a people, even of superstitions and local politics, matters that commercial men, as well as administrators, cannot, if they only knew it, ever afford to ignore. The study has also a great intellectual interest, and neither the man of commerce nor the man of affairs should disregard this side of it if he would attain success in every sense of that term.

Just let me give one instance from personal experience. A few years back a number of ingots of tin, in the form of birds and animals and imitations thereof, hollow tokens of tin ingots, together with a number of rough notes taken on the spot, were handed over to me for investigation and report. They came from the Federated Malay States, and were variously said to have been used as toys and as money in some form. A long and careful investigation unearthed the whole story. They turned out to be surviving specimens of an obsolete and forgotten Malay currency. Bit by bit, by researches into travellers' stories and old records, European and vernacular, it was ascertained that some of these specimens were currency and some money, and that they belonged to two separate series. Their relations to each other were ascertained, and also to the currencies of the European and Oriental nations with whom the Malays of the Peninsula had come in contact. The mint profit in some instances, and in other instances the actual profit European governments and mercantile authorities, and even

native traders, had made in recorded transactions of the past, was found out. The origin of the British, Dutch, and Portuguese money, evolved for trading with the Malays, was disclosed, and several interesting historical discoveries were made; as, for instance, the explanation of the coins still remaining in museums and issued in 1510 by the great Portuguese conqueror, Albuquerque, for the then new Malay possessions of his country, and the meaning of the numismatic plates of the great French traveller Tavernier in the next century. Perhaps the most interesting, and anthropologically the most important, discovery was the relation of the ideas that led up to the animal currency of the Malays to similar ideas in India, Central Asia, China, and Europe itself throughout all historical times. One wonders how many people in these isles grasp the fact that our own monetary scale of 960 farthings to the sovereign, and the native Malay scale of 1,280 cash to the dollar, are representatives of one and the same universal scale, with more than probably one and the same origin out of a simple method of counting seeds, peas, beans, shells, or other small natural constant weights. But the point for the present purpose is that not only will the student find that long practice in anthropological inquiry, and the learning resulting therefrom, will enable him to make similar discoveries, but also that the process of discovery is intensely interesting. Such discoveries, too, are of practical value. In this instance they have taught us much of native habits of thought and views of life in newly acquired possessions which no administrator there,

mercantile or governmental, can set aside with safety.

I must not dwell too long on this aspect of my subject, and will only add the following remark. If any of my hearers will go to the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford he will find many small collections recording the historical evolution of various common objects. Among them is a series showing the history of the tobacco pipe, commonly known to literary students in this country as the nargileh and to Orientalists as the hukka. At one end of the series will be found a hollow cocoanut with an artificial hole in it, and then every step in evolution between that and an elaborate hukka with its long, flexible, drawing-tube at the other end. I give this instance as I contributed the series, and I well remember the eagerness of the hunt in the Indian bazaars and the satisfaction on proving every step in the evolution.

There is one aspect of life where the anthropological instinct would be more than useful, but to which, alas, it cannot be extended in practice. Politics, government, and administration are so inter-dependent throughout the world that it has always seemed to me to be a pity that the value to himself of following the principles of anthropology cannot be impressed on the average politician of any nationality. I fear it is hopeless to expect it. Were it only possible the extent of the consequent benefit to mankind is at present beyond human forecast, as then the politician could approach his work without that arrogance of ignorance of his fellow-countrymen on all points except their

credulity that is the bane of the ordinary types of his kind wherever found:—that ignorant assumption of rectitude with which they have always poisoned and are still poisoning their minds, mistaking the satisfaction of the immediate temporary interests and prejudices of themselves and comrades for the permanent advantage of the whole people, whom, in consequence, they incontinently misgovern whenever and for so long as their country is so undiscerning as to place them in power.

Permit me, in conclusion, to enforce the main argument of this address by a personal note. It was my fortune to have been partly trained in youth at a University College, where the tendency was to produce men of affairs rather than men of the schools, and only the other day it was my privilege to hear the present master of the College, my own contemporary and fellow-undergraduate, expound the system of training still carried out there. "In the government of young men," he said, "intellect is all very well, but sympathy counts for very much more." Here we have the root principle of Applied Anthropology. Here we have in a nutshell the full import of its teaching. The sound administration of the affairs of men can only be based on cultured sympathy, that sympathy on sure knowledge, that knowledge on competent study, that study on accurate inquiry, that inquiry on right method, and that method on continuous experience.

CHAPTER II

SUGGESTIONS FOR A SCHOOL OF APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY.

Report of a discussion on the practical application of Anthropological teaching in Universities, held at Birmingham in 1913.

Sir Richard Temple opened the discussion with a short paper on Suggestions for a School of Applied Anthropology.

The object of this paper is to provide a basis for a discussion on the advisability and on ways and means of establishing a School of Applied Anthropology.

In the course of my Presidential Address to Section H (Anthropology), it is explained that the desire of teachers and students of Anthropology is to acquire and impart abstract knowledge about human beings which men of affairs and commerce can confidently apply in the daily business of practical life to the benefit of themselves and of those with whom they come in contact, such knowledge being based on inquiries methodically conducted on lines which experience has shown will lead to the minimum of error in observation and record.

It is pointed out that it is not enough in the case of mankind, or, indeed, of almost any living thing, to study physical structure only, but that the pro-

ducts of the mind, as shown in habits of thought and action, must also be studied. The anthropologists have, therefore, divided their subject into the two main heads of Physical and Cultural Anthropology, the former being concerned with the structure of the body, and the latter with manners and customs and other results of mental activity.

When the extent and nature of the British Empire is examined, it becomes apparent that the complexity of the Empire and its distribution over the world makes the subject of its administration, both officially and commercially, an immensely important one for the British people. As the Empire is governed from the British Isles, it is inevitable that a large number of young men must be sent out annually to its various component parts, and be entrusted in due course with the administrative, commercial, and social control over many alien races. If their relations with the foreign peoples with whom they come in contact are to be successful, they must acquire a working knowledge of the habits, customs, and ideas that govern the conduct of those peoples, and of the conditions in which they pass their lives. All those who succeed find out these things for themselves, and discern that success is dependent on the knowledge they may attain of those with whom they have to deal. They set about learning what they can, but of necessity empirically and as a side issue, as it were, in the immediate and imperative business of their lives. But the man who is obliged to obtain the requisite knowledge empirically, and without any previous training in observation, is heavily handicapped indeed in comparison with him

who has already acquired the habit of right observation, and, what is of much more importance, has been put in the way of correctly interpreting his observations in his youth.

To put the proposition in its briefest form, in order to succeed in administrative or commercial life abroad a man must use tact. Tact is the social expression of discernment and insight, qualities born of intuitive anthropological knowledge, and that is what it is necessary to induce in those sent abroad to become eventually the controllers of, and dealers with, other kinds of men. What is required, therefore, is that in youth they should have imbibed the anthropological habit, so that, as a result of having been taught how to study mankind, they may learn what it is necessary to know of those about them correctly and in the shortest possible time. The years of active life now unavoidably wasted in securing this knowledge, often inadequately and incorrectly, even in the case of the ablest, can thus be saved.

The important point to bear in mind is, that in dealing with men "intellect is all very well, but sympathy counts for very much more." And so the anthropologists desire to instil into the minds of those at home, who guide the work of representatives abroad, that the sound administration of the affairs of men can only be based on cultured sympathy, springing in its turn from sure knowledge, competent study, and accurate inquiry conducted on a right method, itself the result of continuous experience.

Incidentally anthropological inquiry is an intensely interesting occupation to those who have mastered

the preliminary study, and no better way of filling up the leisure hours of a European in a foreign country could be found, especially in remote and lonely localities.

The situation has, for some years past, been appreciated by those who have occupied themselves with Anthropology as a science, and several efforts have been made by the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, at any rate, to bring the public benefits accruing from the establishment of anthropological schools before the Government and the people of this country. With the co-operation of some of the Colonial Governments, practical work has been done by all these bodies towards teaching Anthropology to probationers and candidates for the Civil Services in Africa, India, and elsewhere, and it is a matter of public importance that great centres of education and commerce should give practical encouragement to the study by the establishment of a School of Applied Anthropology, with a special museum and library attached. These last are necessary, because the kind of students desired need not only competent teachers to guide them, but also a library and a museum close at hand, where they can find the information they want and the illustration of it.

I venture to suggest that the City of Birmingham, with its university, possesses peculiar facilities for the formation of a School of Applied Anthropology and also of its library and museum, as the city has all over the empire its commercial representatives, who can collect the required museum specimens on the spot. The financial labours also of those who

distribute these men over greater Britain, and, indeed, all over the world, produce means to create the library and the school, and their universal interests provide the incentive for securing for those in their employ the best method of acquiring a knowledge of men that can be turned to useful commercial purpose.

DISCUSSION.

After his opening statement, the President (Sir R. Temple) read the following extracts from letters received from those who had been invited to take part in the discussion but were unable to attend :—

From Lieut.-General Sir Reginald Wingate, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Sirdar Egyptian Army and Governor-General of the Sudan :—

. . . I am in entire sympathy with every word you say, and in the evidence I gave before the Commission for the Establishment of a School of Oriental Languages in London, under the Presidency of the late Sir Alfred Lyall, I briefly referred to the great importance of the study of Anthropology, not only for administrators, but also for merchants, missionaries, and others whose lives are spent in our Colonies, Dependencies, and Protectorates. . . . So impressed also was I with the importance of the study of Anthropology that I arranged for anthropological lectures to be given to probationers to the Sudan Civil Service at Oxford and Cambridge, and, in order to provide material for these lectures and to assist in anthropological research in the Sudan, we have obtained the services of Dr. Seligmann,

who, accompanied by Mrs. Seligmann, has already carried out one or two journeys in the Sudan, and is, I believe, now occupied in the preparation of a book on his discoveries.

From Sir Frank Swettenham, G.C.M.G., late Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States:—

. . . I have read your "suggestions" with much interest, and if you will allow me to say so, I cordially concur with all you say. Such a school as you suggest would no doubt be extremely useful, but, if instituted mainly with the idea that it would help our young administrators to a right knowledge of, and sympathy with, the people they may be sent to govern or to minister to in other ways, then I confess that I should put the study of Oriental and other languages and the study of administration, especially the administration of Eastern peoples, first. I mention Eastern peoples because we have 300,000,000 subjects in British India, a million Chinese in British Colonies and Protected States in the East, and about a million Malays in the same places, to say nothing of the population of Ceylon—Sinhalese and Tamils. Until this country founds and supports a School of Oriental Languages I hardly see how the student is to arrive at a real knowledge of Oriental people. Until we teach the art of administration, we can only rely upon the genius of our race to fit our young men to administer properly and sympathetically the affairs of Eastern and other alien peoples. I admit that we have been successful in the past, but I also know that knowledge has often

been gained at the expense of those we rule. We send men to teach them, but the teachers must begin by learning almost everything that makes for really successful work. You cannot teach sympathy, but without that the rest will never give the best results.

From PROF. C. G. SELIGMANN, the London School of Economics :—

I have read the abstract of Sir Richard Temple's paper with a great deal of interest, and it summarises the matter so ably that there seems little left to add. But I should like to say that what Sir Richard has written about the drawback of the knowledge empirically gained during active administration has struck me over and over again. In more than one country, I have been told that So-and-So has a splendid knowledge of such-and-such a people. So-and-So is immediately sought out, and always proves most willing to assist, but it is soon evident that his knowledge, even when he knows something of the language, is superficial, and a stranger capable of thinking along anthropological lines can generally discover more in a few weeks than the most sympathetic administrator has been able to find out, perhaps, in the course of years. When I say administrator I do not only mean Government official; all that I have written applies with equal force to even the best prepared missionary. Without training it is indeed extremely rare to find what I may call the anthropological attitude of mind, though there is no scarcity of men who have the fullest sympathy with those committed to their charge. I

do not know how many Government officials and missionaries I have watched in close contact with the natives among whom they lived during the last fifteen years, but the number is certainly not small, and during that time I have met but two men, one an Englishman and the other an Italian, who had found and trodden the anthropological path unaided.

From Mr. T. C. Hodson, Secretary of the Royal Anthropological Institute :—

. . . Once more as Secretary of the Institute may I wish you all success in your endeavour to persuade the authorities of Birmingham to take up the teaching of Applied Anthropology. It is not to Government servants alone to whom it is of use, but to every person who is brought into contact, in any capacity whatsoever, with persons of different culture. The prejudices with which the statesman has to contend are as much the subject matter for the anthropologist as are the economic habits of any society, and if Birmingham does take it up it will, I hope and I am sure, take it up thoroughly. There is only one way nowadays in a modern university of the type of Birmingham of organising work of this kind, and that is to secure the best men for the work, and in a university the investigation of novel problems by sound and tried methods of experimentation is necessarily of high importance.

In the discussion which followed,

Sir Everard im Thurn, K.C.M.G., late High Commissioner in the Pacific, said : As one who has

himself spent most of his active life among and in sympathy with "natives," *i.e.*, with folk whose material culture has advanced comparatively little, and certainly in a very different direction from that followed by our own ancestors, I strongly support the proposal put forward by our President—that a great and urgent imperial purpose would be served by the establishment of a great anthropological centre—call it school, institute, or what you like—at which youths who go out from home to serve in the distant parts of the Empire might learn to think and act in accordance with the lessons taught by the science of Anthropology.

My own experience during more than thirty years of administration among natives, first in Guiana, then for a few years at the Colonial Office—wherein the strings that pull the native affairs of our Empire are moved—then for three years in Ceylon, and lastly for seven years in the islands of the South Seas, makes me most strongly wish for the establishment of such a centre.

In my case, an innate taste for natural history—and especially for the natural history of man—was, after my first couple of years among natives, given a more serious trend by a chance meeting—the beginning of a life-long friendship—with Sir Edward Tylor, the father of modern scientific Anthropology in England. But, despite this exceptional advantage, I know that it would have been an enormous gain to me—and certainly of advantage to the Empire which I have humbly served—had I started with a preliminary training in anthropological method, and had I been able throughout my career

to turn back for guidance to some centre here at home, and to which, in return, I might have imparted my own observations for more scientific treatment than I could give them while still in the field.

Again, when, as time went on, and I came into a position of greater responsibility, I experienced to the full the difficulty of finding young men who, however otherwise well qualified, were of the right habit of anthropological thought to serve under and after me.

It has happened that my work has been chiefly with natives of a very primitive type—with the kind of folk who are usually, but most misleadingly, called " savages," rather than the kind much further advanced in social organisation and thought such as those with whom Indian Civil Service students chiefly have to deal. I think that a well-thought-out scheme for the anthropological education of the men—and women—who are to deal with the more primitive folk is even more necessary for imperial purposes than in the case of those who are to deal with more " civilised " natives.

The Europeans who come most in contact with surviving very primitive folk are generally—to mention them in the order in which they have usually appeared on the scene—either traders, missionaries, or administrators. Though myself belonging to the latter class, I have naturally come much in contact with my European colleagues of the other two classes, and I am quite convinced that we should all have done much more useful work—for ourselves, for our natives, and for the Empire to which we

belong—if we had had a real training in Anthropology, and consequently a truer understanding and a more rational sympathy with the natives.

The imperial need for such a school as is proposed seems to me not to admit of question. As to the exact nature of the school, I would only here add this. I think that it should be a school in which teachers and students should always remain in touch. For instance, the teachers should not be mere book and museum students, but should from time to time be expected to take a turn abroad in the field; I mean that by some such arrangement as that by which in places teachers are permitted to take a year off—a Sabbatical year I think it is sometimes called—the teachers should visit their students abroad. On the other hand, the students, after graduation, should remain associated in some way with the institute or school; they should habitually send their observations for record at that school, and should revisit it for fresh study whenever they are at home on leave.

I am, of course, aware that Anthropology is already taught at some of our universities and similar institutions, but I do not think that anywhere, in any one place, has the machinery for such teaching been sufficiently advanced to do much real and widespread good. If at every university there were a thoroughly good anthropological school it would be a splendid thing for the Empire. But even one really adequately equipped school would be costly, and I think it would be well to concentrate efforts, and to aim—at least at first—at one really good school.

Where that school should be I am not prepared to say. Birmingham is said to offer special advantages for it. Personally, as an Oxford man, I should prefer to see the school established at Oxford. But the selection of the site practically depends chiefly on the generous donor or donors who will provide the funds, necessarily large.

Mr. W. Crooke, from his experience of twenty-five years' service in the Bengal Civil Service, cordially supported this proposal to organise anthropological teaching for selected candidates of the Indian services. He laid special stress on the encouragement of the study of the native languages, and suggested a special course of teaching of the rules of Oriental etiquette, particularly necessary since the unfortunate estrangement of a section of the educated classes from the British officials, which necessitates care to prevent offence to persons nervously concerned about their own dignity.

At the same time, he was not inclined to advocate instruction in special anthropological problems. It was inadvisable to familiarise students with theories which tended to the search for material in support of one suggestion or the other. All that was necessary was to arouse the faculty of curiosity and investigation, to show to young officers how fascinating the study of anthropology and folklore was. The present course of instruction in this country lasted only one year, and if Anthropology were made a regular subject here was a danger of overburdening students, with the result that they would reach India jaded and overworked. The definite study of Anthropology could be secured only by abandoning part

of the present curriculum, which was the minimum accepted by the Government of India.

LIEUT.-COLONEL P. R. GURDON (Assam) said: I do not think I can profitably add to the very cogent and admirably expressed arguments of Sir Richard Temple in favour of a School of Applied Anthropology in England, except to say that Sir Richard Temple's plan might be made to fit in with the scheme outlined by Sir Archdale Earle, Chief Commissioner of Assam, in his statement forwarded to the Public Service Commission. This scheme provides for the establishment of a college, not only for European officers about to proceed to the East, but for Indians who are candidates for admission to the Indian Services as well. European candidates for employment in the Indian Services would thus be thrown in direct contact with Indians early in their career, and be able to understand something of the Indian point of view, a matter of very great importance, which I venture to think has not so far received sufficient attention. The scheme might be extended so as to suit the needs of the colonies, *e.g.*, the African colonies. At the college Applied Anthropology should be made one of the principal subjects, together with Indian and other necessary languages. Anthropology, which includes ethnography, has received some attention in India of recent years, an ethnographic survey having been undertaken by the Indian Government. Unfortunately this survey could not be completed for want of funds, but a considerable amount of work was done in the shape of preparation and publication of detailed accounts of castes and tribes in various Provinces. In Assam,

at the instigation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, when Chief Commissioner, the preparation of a series of tribal monographs by selected officers has been undertaken, which, as Sir Richard Temple has pointed out, has proved most useful already. Up to the present time seven such monographs have been published, and more are under preparation. It may be mentioned that both the Eastern Bengal and Assam Governments generously provided a large proportion of the funds for the publication of these monographs. I should like to refer also to the services of Messrs. Macmillan & Co., in this connection. The recording of accounts of tribes and castes, however, does not quite meet all the needs of the case, as young men proceeding to the East do not possess either the time or the inclination usually to read many books of study beyond those which are compulsory for their examinations. What is required, I venture to think, is oral and ocular demonstration, to be obtained from lectures (to be made interesting) and a good anthropological museum and library in England. Both of these could be provided at the School of Applied Anthropology outlined by Sir Richard Temple. A few words in conclusion. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of officers, who are candidates for the Indian Services, learning something about the habits and customs of the people who are about to be committed to their care, as well as the standard language or languages of the Province of their appointment. Young men at present come out to India often astonishingly ignorant of the conditions of the country and the people, and only

learn what to avoid by making continual mistakes. Many such mistakes would be obviated probably if some knowledge of Indian ethnology as well as languages were made compulsory before officers took up their work in India. I therefore cordially support Sir Richard Temple's scheme.

Dr. A. C. Haddon, F.R.S., Reader in Ethnology in the University of Cambridge, said: Anthropology has been taught systematically for some years in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, and the older universities would welcome the establishment of the subject in Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, or anywhere else. In university instruction there are two main classes of students to be considered, the elementary and the advanced. The former require more or less formal lectures, owing to the lack of adequate text-books. The latter should be lectured to as little as possible, conversational classes and direction of reading and research being best suited for their needs. What is most appropriate in the anthropological instruction of those who are going abroad as Government officials, missionaries, or traders is neither a cramming up of various theories nor even an accumulation of ascertained facts, but a general survey of the main principles of the science, with an indication as to how the student can acquire information for himself. The real training of the student should be in what may be termed attitude of mind, both as regards relations with natives, whether civilised or uncultured, and as regards the methods of ethnological investigation. Even in the investigation of savages, and still more so in dealings with the more cultured

peoples, behaviour and etiquette are of prime importance, and students should be warned to make it their first business to discover the rules of conduct that obtain locally so that friction may be avoided. This applies not only to officials and missionaries, but if possible with still more force to those who enter into trading relations with alien peoples.

An essential part of the equipment of a School of Anthropology is a departmental library and museum. The museum may be one of the museums of a university, or some arrangement may be made between a municipal museum and the teaching staff of the university, as, for example, at Liverpool.

Various departments of the Government are beginning to realise the practical importance of ethnological knowledge in the administration of the portions of the Empire which are under their care. At the present time successful candidates of the Indian Civil Service are not expected to study ethnology, and, indeed, with the great amount of work they have to crowd into their preparatory year, it could hardly be expected of them. But in two successive years the Indian Civil Service students at the University of Cambridge requested me to give them a course of lectures on the ethnology of India, as they felt that such knowledge would be of value to them. It would be well if more time could be allowed to such students, and then definite instruction in ethnology might be compulsory.

The anthropological sciences have such a wide outlook that they throw light upon many other subjects, such as history, law, economics, sociology, theology, literature, and the fine arts, so that, apart

from the direct practical importance of the subject itself, Anthropology should be taught and studied in every important university.

Dr. R. R. Marett, Reader in Social Anthropology, Oxford, said that he wished to bear out Dr. Haddon's contention that in some universities at any rate the teaching of Anthropology had already made considerable headway. Thus at Oxford the interest in Anthropology was no new thing, the Tradescant Collection of ethnological material going back to 1685, while exactly 200 years later the Pitt-Rivers Museum was established, Sir E. Tylor having been appointed Reader in Anthropology in the previous year—namely, 1884. The Oxford School of Anthropology was not, however, organised on its present scale until, in response to a memorandum presented by Sir E. Tylor and others in 1904, the university instituted a diploma and certificates in Anthropology. Between 1906 and 1913 the names of 66 students have appeared on the register, of whom 40 have entered for examination and 33 have proved successful, 8 of them obtaining "distinction," the standard being equivalent to that of a first class in a Final Honours School. The development of the school has been rapid, as the following figures will show: In 1906 there was 1 student; in 1907 there were 4; in 1908, 6; in 1909, 7; in 1910, 10; in 1911, 24; and in 1912, 34. Various classes of students show an interest in the subject. Besides 11 women of all nationalities, there have been 17 men from the British Isles, 8 from the Colonies (of whom 5 were Rhodes scholars), 7 from the United States (of whom 4 were Rhodes scholars), and 2 from the Continent.

In addition, 21 officers of the Public Service have undergone the same course of anthropological training, of whom 10 hail from West Africa, 9 from the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Egypt, 1 from British East Africa, and 1 from India. The officers in question are, of course, mainly interested in the subject from the practical point of view of administrators and men of affairs, though several have managed to produce scientific work of some importance into the bargain. Of the other students, at least a dozen have enlisted for research work in various parts of the ethnological field. Even at home there is plenty to do for the trained anthropologist, and several students have, for instance, been helping the Folk-lore Society to collect material for their projected edition of Brand's *Antiquities*, a work needing accuracy and critical acumen, and in certain ways especially suitable for women students. These facts are enough to show that there are plenty of keen anthropologists in the making, whose number will doubtless steadily augment as more and more teaching centres are available for the propagation of the requisite knowledge.

Professor Peter Thompson, of Birmingham University, said that with the remarks of the President and the succeeding speakers he imagined they would be in general agreement, and he did not propose to labour that side of the question. He would, however, like to take this opportunity of stating what the position of Anthropology in the University was at the present time. A student could take a B.Sc. Degree in Human Anatomy and Anthropology, a course of three years. In Anthro-

pology he must attend a course of general embryology and a course of lectures and practical instruction in Physical Anthropology. At present those who took the degree were mainly medical students, and some of these might pass into the Indian Medical Service. If there were any demand on the part of merchants and others for a course of Social or Cultural Anthropology the machinery for such a course already existed. The nucleus was there. It only wanted developing. It was largely a question of money, since a special lecturer or reader in this subject would be necessary. If the money were forthcoming he would be glad to bring the matter before the authorities of the university; with regard to a museum, they already had the beginnings of an ethnological museum, fairly good on the prehistoric side (thanks to the gifts of Sir John Holden, Mr. Seton-Karr, and other generous donors), not so good on the cultural side. It seemed to him that a good way to proceed, once the matter emerged into a practical scheme, was to associate it with the Faculty of Commerce, for there we have students who look forward to business careers, at home and abroad, preparing for a Commerce Degree, and under existing arrangements such students could take an approved course selected for the Faculty of Science. If a School of Anthropology were developed, it seemed likely that those students who intended going abroad would choose a course of Applied Anthropology, once the great importance of the subject was brought home to them.

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CHAPTER III

ON THE PRACTICAL VALUE OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Address to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, delivered at Cambridge in 1904.

We are gathered to-day to welcome the establishment at this University of a Board of Anthropological Studies,[1] the object of which is to add a working knowledge of mankind to the equipment of those already possessed of a matured, or at least a considerable, acquaintance with science or literature generally. The aim is, in fact, to impart a human interest to scholarship or to scientific attainment, which are otherwise apt to become mere exercises of the intellect :—an aim rendered practicable by the research and study, in certain directions, during quite recent years, of a number of independent students, hailing from all parts of the civilised world. The particular directions in which Anthropological Science has thus been developed to an extent that has obtained for it a recognised and important position among the sciences, are in Archæology, Ethnology, and Physical and Mental

[1] Appointed by Grace, 26 May, 1904, comprising a Report (dated 12 May) of a Syndicate appointed to consider a Memorial on the Study of Anthropology. See *Cambridge University Reporter*, pp. 806, 888.

Anthropology. The archæologists have included enquiries into Prehistoric and Historic Anthropology in their researches, the ethnologists have included Sociology, Comparative Religion, and Folk-lore, while Mental Anthropology covers a study of the whole field of psychological investigation.

Now, when we are started on a new line of research, when we add a new course of studies to a University curriculum, there is a question that we cannot help facing—a question, in fact, that ought to arise—What is the good of it all ? What is the good of Prehistoric Anthropology, for instance, or of Comparative Religion, to an undergraduate about to undertake a course of study, which is to enable him to embark fittingly on the practical affairs of life ? This is the problem that it is proposed to tackle now.

Let us commence a survey of the trend of this last development of scientific effort with a truism. Every successful man has to go on educating himself all his life, and the object of a University training is to induce in students a habit of self-education, which is in the future to stand them in such good stead. Before those freshly passed through an English University there is a very wide field spread. Year by year whole batches of them are destined to go forth to all parts of the world to find a livelihood ; to find places where work, lucrative, dignified, and useful, awaits them ; to find themselves also in a human environment, strange, alien and utterly unlike anything in their experience. It is a fair question to ask ;—Will not a sound grounding in

anthropology be a help to such as these? There is a patter saying:—The proper study of mankind is man. Will not a habit, acquired here, of systematically pursuing this study, of examining intelligently, until their true import is grasped, customs, modes of thought, beliefs, and superstitions, physical and mental capacities, springs of action, differences and mutual relations, and the causes leading up to existing human phenomena, be of real value to the young Englishmen sent among aliens? Will it not be a powerful aid to them in what is called "understanding the people"?

And do not let us run away with the idea that such knowledge is easily or quickly acquired, because one is in the environment. There is another patter saying: "One half of the world does not know how the other half lives." This is applied to, and is only too true of those who belong to the same religion, who have been born, as it were, with the same social instincts, and are endowed presumably with the same mental and physical capacities. How many English Roman Catholics, living amongst Protestants, could tell one, on enquiry, anything of practical value as to Protestant ideas, and *vice versâ*? How many of the gentry can project themselves successfully into the minds of the peasantry? And how many peasants understand the workings of the gentleman's mind, or the causes leading to his actions? How often do masters complain of the utter misunderstanding of themselves exhibited in the comments of their servants? But do they always, in their turn, understand the actions of their servants? Do masters always

grasp why the most faithful and honest of menials may also confidently be predicted in given circumstances to be unblushing liars? Do the upper classes have a clear conception of the reason why the lower orders will scrupulously see fair play in some circumstances, but be incapable of fair play in most others? It is the same all the world over. Lifelong neighbours among Hindus and Muhammadans living chock-a-block in the same street usually know nothing of each other's ways. Again, every Indian talks of "caste," but there is nothing more difficult than to get information of practical value from an Indian about any caste, except his own, though the instinct of caste is so strong in the people that new "castes" inevitably spring up in new communities, when these are faced with novel social conditions. So strong, indeed, is it, that Muhammadan "castes" abound, despite this condition being a contradiction in terms, and even the native Christians of India are frequently by themselves, and usually by others, looked upon as belonging to a "caste."

We often talk in Greater Britain of a "good" magistrate or a "sympathetic" judge, meaning thereby that these officials determine the matters before them with insight, that is, with a working anthropological knowledge of those with whom they have to deal. But observe that these are all phenomena of human societies with identical social instincts, showing the intense difficulty that individuals of the human race have in understanding each other. Pondering this, it will be perceived what the difficulties are that await him of an alien race

who essays to project himself into the minds of the foreigners with whom he has to deal and associate, or whom he has to govern : an attempt that so many who pass through an English University must have to make in this huge Empire of ours. If such an individual trusts to his own unaided capacities, a mastery of his business will come to him but very slowly and far too late. It is indeed everything to him to acquire the habit of useful anthropological study before he commences, and to be able to avail himself practically and intelligently of the facts gleaned, and the inferences drawn therefrom, by those who have gone before him.

At the same time it is of the highest importance personally to men of all kinds, who have dealings of the superior sort—such as it is presumed young men trained here are destined to have—with those with whom they are thrown at home, and more especially abroad, to be imbued with as intimate a knowledge of them as is practicable. It matters nothing that they be civil servants, missionaries, merchants, or soldiers. Sympathy is one of the chief factors in successful dealings of any kind with human beings, and sympathy can only come of knowledge. And not only also does sympathy come of knowledge, but it is knowledge that begets sympathy. In a long experience of alien races, and of those who have had to govern and deal with them, all whom I have known to dislike the aliens about them, or to be unsympathetic, have been those that have been ignorant of them ; and I have never yet come across a man, who really knew an alien race, that had not, unless actuated by race

jealousy, a strong bond of sympathy with them. Familiarity breeds contempt, but it is knowledge that breeds respect, and it is all the same whether the race be black, white, yellow, or red, or whether it be cultured or ignorant, civilised or semi-civilised, or downright savage.

Let me quote what is now another glib saying:—"One touch of nature makes the whole world kin." It is necessary to grasp the truth underlying this, if one would succeed. Who is the better or more useful regimental officer than he who knows and sympathises with his men, who knows when to be lenient and when to be strict, when to give leave and when to refuse it, when a request for a favour is genuine and when it is humbug, when treatment is disciplinary and when it is merely irritating? And what British officer in charge of British troops will achieve this sympathy, but he who takes the trouble to know them? But place a British officer with local troops: take him to Egypt, the Sudan and Uganda, to Nigeria and the Gold Coast, to Rhodesia and South Africa, to India and Burma, to the Straits Settlements and China, to the West Indies and the Pacific Islands, and put him in charge of regulars, irregulars, or police. Who will so well bring about the all-essential sympathy between himself and his men as he who has acquired a habit, till by reason of his early training it has become a pleasure to him, of finding out all about them?

Take the merchant, trader, squatter, planter, or dealer in supplies to alien races. Who is successful in commerce but he who finds out where the market is, and having found the market, knows how to take

advantage of it and what to avoid? In seeking a market, the habits, ways, predilections, and prejudices of many kinds of people have to be learnt, and this is the case in a much higher degree in preserving the market when found. Practically nearly all the blunders made by British manufacturers in supplying foreign markets, and mistakes made by British merchants whereby markets have been lost, have been due to ignorance of the local inhabitants, and others have been due to their own pride, born of the same ignorance. "We have always made the article in this way in the past for home consumption, and we are not going to make it in any other way for the foreigner," is an argument that has lost many markets. But it is hopelessly wrong. No foreigner has ever taken what he did not happen to like, and no foreigner ever will. No one who has a knowledge of mankind generally would think so. The civilised will have things exactly to their liking, and it cannot be too clearly impressed on the trading community that this prejudice is even more strongly characteristic of the savage and the semi-savage. Beads as beads do not appeal to the savage, but it is a particular kind and form of beads that he wants for reasons of his own, practical enough in their own way—and so on through every article of trade.

It is here that what one may call "the anthropological habit" will come to the aid of those engaged in commerce, and an anthropological training in youth will certainly not tend to the diminishing of later profits. It is a common commercial saying that trade accommodates itself to any circumstances.

So it does ; but he who profits first and best is he who knows the most of mankind and its ways. Many successful mercantile firms with a foreign trade have not been slow to appreciate this truth. Taught by the spectacle of unlooked-for failures, there have been firms which have long since insisted on their youngsters acquiring a knowledge of the local languages and of the local peoples. This insistence has often been of the highest profit to them. As one instance of its value among many, let me quote the case of a well-known firm which took to supplying, as an essential part of its work, the wax candles used at Buddhist shrines, temples, and ceremonies. This proved a wide and profitable field for enterprise, because the candles were made in the right way, which right making came of anthropological knowledge of more than one kind, and of more than one place and community.

It is not only direct knowledge that is necessary to the merchant, and I will give an instance where mercantile bodies have found a kind of knowledge that is apparently remote as regards their business to be of paramount importance to them. A few years ago I made efforts to establish a series of wireless telegraphic stations in the Bay of Bengal, which have since borne fruit, partly on account of the value of the meteorological information that could be gathered in time to be of practical daily use to the immense amount of shipping traversing the Bay in all directions. I found that among my strongest supporters were the great Chambers of Commerce, not only in the shipping interests, but in those of general commerce also. One can

readily understand the value of trustworthy weather forecasts to the great agricultural industries depending on a heavy rainfall, such as rice, jute, and sugar, but their value to the dealers in cotton cloth is not so apparent. These dealers, however, had found out that the success of such crops, out of which the millions made their living, depended on the rainfall, and that on the success of the crops depended the purchasing power of the millions, and that on that depended the quantity of the stuffs which could be profitably exported from year to year. Consequently there were no more anxious students of the meteorological returns than the manufacturers and merchants of dry goods in far-away England, and no set of men to whom accurate meteorological information was of higher value.

Now, the point I would like to drive home from this object-lesson is that the apparently remote study of anthropology, in all its phases, is of similar value. The habit of intelligently examining the peoples among whom his business is cast cannot be overrated by the merchant wishing to continuously widen it to profit. It may be said that the kind of knowledge above noted can be, and often has been in the past, successfully acquired empirically by mere quickness of observation. Granted: but the man who has been obliged to acquire it without any previous training in observation, is heavily handicapped indeed in comparison with him who has acquired the habit of right observation, and what is of much more importance, has been put in the way of rightly interpreting his observations in his youth. This is what such a body as the

Board of Anthropological Studies here can do for the future merchant.

Then there are the men who have to administer, the magistrates and the judges. One has only to consider for a moment what is involved in the term "administration" to see that success here rests almost entirely on knowledge of the people. Take the universally delicate questions of revenue and taxation, and consider how very much the successful administration of either depends on a minute acquaintance with the means, habits, customs, manners, institutions, traditions, prejudices, and character of the population. And think over both the framing and working of the rules and regulations, under laws of a municipal nature, that affect the every-day life of all sorts and conditions of men. In the making of laws, too close a knowledge of the persons to be subjected to them cannot be possessed, and however wise the laws so made may be, their object can be only too easily frustrated, if the rules they authorise are not themselves framed with an equally great knowledge, and they in their turn can be made to be of no avail, unless an intimate acquaintance with the population is brought to bear on their administration. For the administrator an extensive knowledge of those in his charge is an attainment, not only essential to his own success, but beneficial in the highest degree to the country he dwells in, provided it is used with discernment. And discernment is best acquired by the "anthropological habit." The same extent and description of knowledge is required by the judges and the magistrates in apportioning punishments, and by the judges

in adjudicating effectively in civil cases. No amount of wisdom in the civil and criminal laws of the land in the British possessions will benefit the various populations, unless they are administered with discernment and insight.

To the administrator and the magistrate, and to the judge especially, there is an apparently small accomplishment, which can be turned into a mighty lever for gaining a hold on the people: the apt quotation of proverbs, maxims, and traditional verses and sayings. They are always well worth study. Quote an agricultural aphorism to the farmer, quote a line from one of his own popular poets to the man of letters, quote a wise saw in reproof or encouragement of a servant, and you cannot but perceive the respect and kindly feeling that is produced. Say to the North Indian, who comes with a belated threat: "You should have killed the cat on the *first* day"; stay a quarrel with the remark that "When two fight one will surely fall"; repeat to one in trouble a verse from one of the Indian mediæval reformers; jingle a nursery rhyme to a child; quote a text from the Pali Scriptures to a Burman or a text from the Koran to Musalman; speak any one of these things with all the force, vigour and raciness of the vernacular, and you will find as your reward the attention arrested, the dull eye brightened, the unmistakable look that comes of a kindred intelligence awakened. The proverbs of a people do not merely afford a phase of anthropological study; they are a powerful force working for influence.

Let me take another class of men largely educated at the Universities—a class which one would like to see entirely recruited from amongst those who have been subjected in early life to the University method of training—the missionaries. Now, what is the missionary in practice required to do? He is required to bring about in alien races a change of thought, which is to induce in them what we consider to be a higher type of faith and action than their own religion or belief is capable of inducing. There is perhaps no more difficult task to accomplish than this, on a scale that is to have a solid effect on a population, and surely the first requisite for success is that the missionary himself should have an insight into three mental characteristics, at any rate, of those he is seeking to convert: that is to say, into their customs, their institutions, and their habits of thought. That this applies with tremendous force in the case of civilised peoples is obvious, on very slight consideration, but it is possibly not equally well understood that it is no less applicable in reality in the case of the semi-civilised, and even of the untutored savage. There is perhaps no human being more hidebound by custom than the savage. It should be remembered that custom is all the law he knows. Custom, both in deed and thought, represents all the explanation he has of natural phenomena within his ken. It controls with iron bands all his institutions—and the customary institutions of savages are often complicated in the extreme, and govern individual action with an irresistible power hardly realisable by the freer members of a civilised nation. Let

any one dive seriously, even for a little while, into the maze of customs connected with tabu, or with the marriage customs—laws if you like—of the Australian aborigines or of the South Sea Islanders, and he will soon see what I mean.

So far as regards civilised peoples, what individual of them is not bound and hampered by custom and convention in every direction? From what does the civilised woman, who, as we say, falls, suffer most? From the law or from custom? What is her offence? Is it against law? Or, is it against convention? If it were against law, would the law pursue her so long, so persistently and so relentlessly as does custom? I quote this as an incontrovertible example of the irresistible nature of public feeling among our own class of nations. Well: among vast populations the most heinous offence, the one offence customarily unpardonable, is to become a pervert to the faith, that is, to become a convert to Christianity. Some here present may have seen the result of committing that offence. I can recall a case in point. I knew a medical man, by birth a Brahman and by faith a Christian, with an European education. What was his condition? His habits were not English, and he could only associate on general terms with English people, and then he was an outcast from his own family and people, in a sense so absolute that a Christian realises it but with difficulty. That was a lonely life indeed, and few there be of any nation that would face it. But mark this. He was ostracised, not because of any crime or any evil in him that made him dangerous, but because of custom and the fear of breaking

through custom on the part of those connected or associated with him. One of the saddest of creatures in my experience was a servant of my own, who had been what is known in India as a child "caste widow." She had nevertheless married a Muhammadan and become a Muhammadan, her own kind and religion being in the circumstances impossible to her, and she paid the penalty of isolation from her home all her life. These are the instances and these are the considerations which show how serious a personal matter it can be to change one's mother faith.

Of course it has been done over and over again, and missionaries have succeeded with whole populations, but in every case success has been obtained by working on the line of least resistance, and has been the reward of those who have exercised something of what we call the wisdom of the serpent in ascertaining that line. This involves a most extensive knowledge of the people; and their work and writings prove how closely the great missionaries of all sorts have studied those amongst whom their lot has been cast, in every phase. It has always and everywhere been so. The varying festivals of Christianity in Europe, its many rituals and its myriad customs, show that the missionaries of old succeeded by adapting to their own ideals, rather than by changing, the old habits they found about them. In the East, the Buddhists were in ancient days, and nominally still are, great missionaries, and they have invariably worked on the same lines. I have also elsewhere had reason to point out that in the present day the most successful

missionary in India is, after all, the Brahman priest, and that because he apparently changes nothing, accepts the whole hagiolatry and cosmogony of the tribe he takes under his wing, declares the chief tribal god to be an emanation from the misty Hindu deity Siva, starts a custom here and a ceremony there, induces the leaders to be select and particular as to association with others, and as to marriages, eating, drinking, and smoking, and straightway is brought into being a new caste and a new sect, belonging loosely to that agglomeration of sects and small societies known generically as Hinduism. The process can be watched wherever British roads and railroads open up the wilder regions.

All this is working tactfully, and because tact is instinctive anthropological knowledge, it is working anthropologically, and wherever, without the immediate aid of the sword and superior force, any other method is tried—wherever there has been a direct effort to work empirically—wherever a sudden change of old social habits has been inculcated—there has been disaster, or an unnecessary infliction of injury, or a subversion of the constituted social system, or an actual conflict with the civil authority. Mischief, not good, comes of such things. I remember, many years ago, having cause to examine the religious ideas of a certain Indian tribe, and being advised to consult a missionary, who had lived with it for about twenty-five years. I wrote to him for my information, and the answer I received was that he could not give it, as his business was to convert the heathen to Christianity, not to study their religion. Such a man could not

create a mission station, and was not likely to improve one placed in his charge. Another instance of the wrong spirit, born of anthropological ignorance, comes to light in the existence of certain all-important provisions in Acts of the Indian Legislature and in judicial decisions affecting Indians, which prevent a change of religion from affecting marriages celebrated, and the legitimacy of children born, before the change, and prevent reliance on customs opposed to the newly adopted religion. Men have become Muhammadans in order to apply the Muhammadan law of divorce to former wives, as they thought legally, and men have become Christians in order to get rid of superfluous wives and families, and—what is to the point here—Christian converts have been advised by their pastors to put away extra wives. Think of the cruel wrongs which would thus have been inflicted on lawfully married women and lawfully begotten children, and the wisdom of the legislature and of the judges will be perceived. But the strongest instance I can recall of the results of anthropological ignorance is the sad case of the Nicobar Missions in the Bay of Bengal. Off and on for two hundred years, missionaries of all sorts and nationalities attempted conversion and colonisation of these islands. Thay were well intentioned, enthusiastic, and in a sense truly heroic, and some of them were learned as well, but they were without practical knowledge and without proper equipment. Their lives were not only miserable, but they were horribly miserable, and every mission perished. What is more, so far as I could ascertain after prolonged

enquiry, their efforts, which were many and sustained, have had no appreciable effect on the people, indeed apparently none at all. And this has partly been due to an anthropological error. They worked with their own hands. It may seem a small thing, but with the population they dealt with it meant that they could secure no influence, and it is a truth that, wherever you go, if you are to have influence, you must have anthropological knowledge. There is a mission in the Nicobars now, and when I last heard of it it was flourishing, but the leader was a contributor to the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, and had it borne in on him that a knowledge of the people in their every aspect is essential to his success. Many a time has he used his knowledge to the practical benefit of the islanders, converts or other.

So far we have been discussing the case of those who dwell and work abroad. Let us now pay a little attention to that of a very different class, the armchair critics, academical, philosophical, political, pragmatic, doctrinaire—those gentlemen of England that live at home at ease. It is a commonplace amongst Europeans in India that the home-stayer's ignorance of India and its affairs is not only stupendous: it is persistent and hopeless, because self-satisfied. But the home criticism is of great importance, as the ultimate power for good and evil lies at the head-quarters of the Empire. It must be so: and what is true of India is true also of any other outlying part of the world-wide dominion of the British race. But do the glib critics of England pause to dwell on the harm that severe criticism

of their fellow-countrymen abroad often does? Do they stop to consider the pain it causes? Or to ponder on the very superficial knowledge on which their strictures are based? Or to think that there is no adverse criticism that is more annoying or disheartening than that which is wholly ignorant, or springs from that little knowledge which is a dangerous thing? Indeed, the chief qualification for a savage onslaught on the striver at a distance is ignorance. He who knows and can appreciate, is slow to depreciate, as he understands the danger. I do not wish to illustrate my points too profusely out of my own experience, but on the whole it is best to take one's illustrations, so far as possible, at first hand, and I will give here an instance of advice tendered without adequate anthropological instruction. For some years I had to govern a very large body of Indian convicts, among whom were a considerable number of women. Some pressure was brought to bear on me, partly from England, to introduce separate sleeping accommodation among the women, on the intelligible ground that it is well to separate the unfortunate from the bad, and that in England women who had found their way into gaol, but were on the whole of cleanly life, highly appreciated the privilege of sleeping apart from those whose lives, thoughts and speech were otherwise. But I avoided doing this, because the Indian woman in all her life, from birth to death, from childhood to old age, is never alone, especially at night, and if you want to thoroughly frighten the kind of woman that finds herself in an Indian prison, force her to sleep, or to try to sleep,

in a solitary cell, where her wild superstitious imagination runs riot. It is an act of torture.

Now, those who fill posts that bring them constantly before the public eye soon become callous to the misinterpretation that dogs the judgment of the ill-informed critic. They are subjected to it day by day, and the experience early comes to them that it does them no personal harm. But the case is quite different with men who lead solitary lives on the outskirts of the Empire, surrounded by difficulties not of the ordinary sort, and working under unusual conditions. The loneliness tries the nerves and leads to brooding, and then the unkind word, the thoughtless criticism, wounds deeply. It disheartens, discourages, and takes the zest and spirit out of the worker. To test the truth of this, let any stay-at-home quit the comfortable walls of this hub of a mighty Empire and go out on to the bare tyre thereof, and see for himself. There is probably no kind of worker abroad, though he is only too often guilty of it himself, who suffers more from ignorant criticism than the lonely missionary, and he is so placed that he cannot ignore it.

Even those who should be thicker of skin often do not escape the soreness caused in this way, and I cannot forget the heart-burning that arose on the spot, during the very difficult pacification of the country after the last Burmese War, out of the relentless criticism set up at home with so little knowledge, though there must have been many who must have known that the treatment they received but repeated that meted out to the controllers of the operations in the previous war. One of the

most pathetic of public speeches is that of General Godwin, at Rangoon, shortly before his death, referring to the ruthless persecution to which he had been subjected for his conduct of the war of 1852. It has always been so. Read about the Peninsular Campaigns, the Sikh Wars, the so-called Sale of Kashmir, and again about the late South African War, and the Russo-Japanese struggle in the Far East. The remarks one usually sees in the daily Press are uninformed enough in all conscience, but they, all the same, evidently wounded at times even so collected a people as the Japanese. The point is, then, that ignorant criticism does harm, even in the case of the experienced in human affairs.

To show how easy and even natural it is to judge wrongly, let me quote as an example the unjust attacks that have often been made, by missionaries among others, upon those who have had truck with savages. Savages within their limitations are very far from being fools, especially in the matter of a bargain with civilised man, and never make one that does not for reasons of their own satisfy themselves. Each side in such a case views the bargain according to its own interest. On his side the trader buys something of great value to him, when he has taken it elsewhere, with something of small value to him, which he has brought from elsewhere, and then he can make what is to him a magnificent bargain. On the other hand, the savage is more than satisfied, because with what he has got from the trader he can procure from amongst his own people something he very much covets, which the articles he parted with could not have procured for him. Both sides profit

by the bargain from their respective points of view, and the trader has not as a matter of fact taken an undue advantage of the savages, who as a body part with products of little or no value to themselves for others of vital importance, though of little or none to the civilised trader. The more one dives into the recorded bargains with savages the more clearly one sees the truth of this view. Taking advantage of the love of all savages for strong drink to conclude unconscionable bargains, by which they part with their produce for an insufficient quantity of articles of use to them, is another matter, and does not affect the argument.

Every administrator of experience can recall many instances of conventionally wrong judgments even in high places, on public affairs abroad, based on anthropological misapprehension ; but one of the most humiliating in my own recollection was the honest, but doctrinaire and pragmatic, onslaught in England on the Opium Traffic of India, whereby, if it had succeeded, some entire populations would have been deprived of those little but very highly prized comforts assured in overcrowded agricultural localities by the cultivation of opium, and others of the most valued prophylactic they possess against physical pain and suffering by its medicinal consumption. In both cases it is this much abused product of the fields that enables the very poor in large areas to keep their heads above water, so that their not very happy lives may be worth living.

There is another most venerable anthropological error, quaintly expressed by a seventeenth-century writer on Greenland, who describes that country

"as being so happy as not to know the value of gold and silver." It is to be found all the world over and in all times. It is expressed in Ovid's hackneyed lines :—

> Effodiuntur opes, irritamenta malorum.
> Jamque nocens ferrum, ferroque nocentius aurum
> Prodierant.

But it is based on a misunderstanding of the ways of mankind in given circumstances. Barter, sale, and purchase must go on, whether there is money in the land or not, and an examination of the state of commercial business in any country in pre-coinage days will soon convince the student that the opportunities for unfair dealing, where the value of gold and silver for currency has not been discovered, are just double those where money exists ; and opportunity is the mother of sin. The actual monetary condition of a country without a definite and settled currency and without the bullion metals is not by any means of that desirable simplicity, which civilised man is, without due thought, so apt to attribute to savages and semi-savages. Simplicity in dealings can only exist where money consists of a recognised coinage, and where wealth is expressed in terms of that coinage. Indeed, the invention of money, based on the metallurgical skill which can produce from the ore gold and silver of a fixed fineness, is one of the mightiest triumphs of the human brain, and one of the most potent blessings evolved by man for the benefit of his kind.

But mischievous as uninformed criticism is, there is nothing of greater value and assistance than the criticism of the well informed. Lookers on see

most of the game, provided they understand it. That is just the point. They must understand it to perceive its drift and to forward it by useful comment. By learning all about it, by viewing it at a distance, by the very detachment and general grasp that a distant view secures, the critic at home can materially help the worker abroad. Comment made with knowledge never offends, because it is so very helpful. It cheers, it invigorates, it leads to further effort, it creates a bond of sympathy between the critic and the criticised. It does nothing but good. In this immense Empire it means that all, from the centre of the hub to the outer rim of the wheel, can work with one mind and one mighty effort, with one strong pull together, for the magnificent end of its continued well-being. Therefore it behoves the critic at home of all men to cultivate the anthropological instinct.

Let us now turn to another class, such as this University is pre-eminently capable of affording: the professors, the lecturers, the teachers and leaders of literary and scientific, not to mention anthropological, study. Let no one be filled with the idea that their labours, in so far as anthropology is concerned, are a negligible quantity, as only resulting in abstract speculation of no immediate and probably of no ultimate practical value. What the obscure calculations of the pure mathematicians, the inventions based on applied mathematics, and the deductions of the meteorologists have done for so eminently practical an occupation as navigation; what the abstract labours of the chemist and the electrician have done for the doctor; what the

statistician and the actuary have done for such purely practical bodies as insurance companies and the underwriters ; what the desk work of the accountant does for commerce and finance : that can the analyses of the anthropologist do for that large and important class of workers which labours among men. Let not the remoteness of any particular branch of his subject from the obviously practical pursuits deter him who spends his energies in research. Let him remember that, after all, the best instrument for approaching ancient and mediæval history is abstract study of the ways and thoughts of the modern savage and semi-civilised man. Let him remember, too, that many of the customs and ideas of the most civilised and advanced of modern nations have their roots in savage and semi-civilised beliefs. What can be remoter at first sight from the navigation of an ocean steamer than logarithms ? But let any one who has reason to go on a long sea voyage keep his eyes open, and he cannot but perceive how important a part applied logarithmic calculations play in the sure pilotage of the ship he is in from port to port. And what is more to the effective point, let not the controllers of the University be turned back by any such considerations as apparent remoteness from pursuing the course they are now embarked on ; rather let us hope that the tentative scheme we are now engaged in examining is but the first timid step towards the establishment of what will ultimately prove to be an important School of Applied Anthropology.

And if this University takes up this study in earnest, let me draw attention to another point.

It is said in a thoughtful obituary notice of my old friend, the great Orientalist, Professor Georg Bühler, of Vienna, that not only was he a thorough scholar, a hard worker and a master of general Oriental learning, but that he had also the insight to perceive that judicious collections promote and even create those studies, the advancement of which he had at heart. In all such matters there must not only be the desire to learn, there must also be the opportunity, for if desire be the father, then assuredly opportunity is the mother of all learning. So he hunted up, collected, and presented to seats of learning every MS. or original document his own financial capacity or his powers of persuasion permitted to himself or to others. Where the carcase is, there shall the eagles be gathered together. In the present case, if the students are to be attracted and encouraged, there must be collected together the Museum and the Library, a carcase fitted for their appetite. I do not say this in a mere begging spirit. Cast your thoughts over the great specialised schools of learning, present or past, and consider how many of them have owed their existence or success to the library or museum close at hand. It is a consideration worthy of the attention of the governing body of a University that these two, the library and the museum, are as important factors in the advancement of knowledge as teaching itself.

And now we come to the last, but not the least important point for consideration: the personal aspect of this question. We have been dealing so far with the value of an early anthropological training to a man in his work. Is it of any value to him

in his private life? For years past I have urged upon all youngsters the great personal use of having a hobby and learning to ride it early, for a hobby to be valuable is not mastered in a day. The knowledge of it is of slow growth. At first the lessons are a grind. Then until they are mastered they are irksome. But when the art is fully attained there is perhaps no keener pleasure that human beings can experience than the riding of a hobby. Begin, therefore, when you are young and before the work of the world distracts your attention and prevents or postpones the necessary mastery. But what is the use of the mastery? There comes a time, sooner or later, to all men that live on, when for one reason or another they must retire from active life, from the pursuits or business to which they have become accustomed, from occupations that have absorbed all their energies and filled up all their days. A time when the habits of years must be changed and when inactivity must follow on activity. Then is the time when a man is grateful for his hobby. By then he has mastered it. Its pursuit is a real pleasure to him. It is a helpful occupation as the years advance, and even when he can no longer push it on any further himself, he can take his delight in giving his matured advice and help to those coming up behind him, and in watching their progress and that of their kind with the eye of the old horseman.

And what better hobby exists than anthropology? Its range is so wide, its phases so very many, the interests involved in it so various, that it cannot fail to occupy the leisure hours from youth to full

manhood, and to be a solace in some aspect or other in advanced life and old age. So vast is the field indeed, that no individual can point the moral of its usefulness, except from a severely limited portion of it. At any rate, I have learnt enough in an experience of a third of a century in its study to prevent me from going beyond my personal tether, though perhaps my lines have been cast in a favourable spot, for rightly or wrongly anthropologists consider India to be an exceptionally, though far from being the only, favoured land for study. In it can be observed still dwelling side by side human beings possessed of the oldest and youngest civilisations. In it can be traced by the modern eye the whole evolution of most arts and many ideas. For instance, you can procure in quite a small area of the country concrete examples, all still in use, of the whole story of the water pipe or hooka, starting from the plain cocoanut with a hole to suck the smoke through. You can then pass on to the nut embellished with a brass binding at the top, and next at the top and bottom, until it is found covered over with brass and furnished with a sucking pipe. Then you can find the nut withdrawn and only the brass cover remaining, but this requires a separate stand, like a miniature amphora. Then it is turned over on to its wider end and the stand is attached to it, and finally the stand is widened and enlarged and the vessel narrowed and attenuated to give it stability, until the true hooka of the Oriental pictures with its elegant and flexible sucking pipe is reached, which differs from a cocoanut in appearance as much as one article can be

made to differ from another. Go and buy such things in the bazaars if you have the chance, and find out for yourselves how great the interest is.

Sticking to my own experience, for reasons given above, and leaving it to my hearers to follow the line of thought indicated from theirs, let me here give an instance or so of the pleasures of research. In Muhammadan India especially there are many cases, some beyond doubt, of the marriage of daughters of royal blood, even of the most powerful sovereigns, to saintly persons of no specially high origin. It is to Europeans an unexpected custom, and is not the finding of the explanation of interest to the discoverer? In the contemporary vernacular history of the Sixteenth Century Dynasty of the Bahmanis in Southern India, we read that Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahmani gave two sisters in marriage to two local saints, with a substantial territorial dowry to each, "for the sake of invoking the divine blessing on his own bed." An Indian anthropologist sees at once in this what the native line of thought has been. The custom is simply a nostrum for procuring sons. The overwhelming hankering after a son in India is of Hindu origin, based on the superstition that the performance of funeral obsequies by a son is a sure means of salvation. The desire has long become universal there, and the whole wide category of nostrums known to the inhabitants is employed by the barren or the sonless to overcome their misfortune. This is one of them.

Again, is it not of interest to trace out a reason for the well-known customary ill-treatment of Hindu widows in India, ill-treatment of relatives being so

foreign to a class with such strong family feelings as the Hindus? Work it out and you will find that this is an instance of the quite incalculable misery and suffering caused to human beings, that has for ages arisen out of "correct argument from a false premiss." The theory is that misfortune is a sin, and indicates a sinful condition in the victims thereof, defining sin as an offence, witting or unwitting, against social conventions. The good luck of the lucky benefits their surroundings and the bad luck of the unlucky as obviously brings harm. Therefore the unlucky are sinful, and what is of supreme importance to them, must be punished accordingly, as a precautionary measure for their own safety on the part of those around them. The fact that, as in the case of widows, the misfortune is perfectly involuntary and uncontrollable does not affect the argument. This in its turn has given rise to an interminably numerous and various body of nostrums for the prevention of the dreaded sin of misfortune, and a cumulative ball of folk-custom has been set rolling.

Take again the ancient royal prerogative of releasing prisoners on customary occasions of personal royal rejoicing, nowadays in civilised Europe attributed solely to kindliness and mercy. This is, in Indian song and legend, given, in the directest phraseology, its right original attribution of an act to insure good luck. Is not this of interest also?

Now, these ideas, and with modifications these customs, are not confined to India, and the interest provided by all such things is their universality among human beings, pointing to the existence of a

fundamental principle, or Law of Nature, which I have elsewhere endeavoured to develop in propounding the principles underlying the evolution of speech : namely, that a convention devised by the human brain is governed by a general natural law, however various the phenomena of that law may be. Controlled by their physical development human brains must in similar conditions, subject to modifications caused by the pressure of two other fundamental natural laws, think and act in a similar manner.

As a concrete example, let us take the idea of sanctuary, asylum, or refuge, as it is variously termed. Wherever it is found, in ancient and modern India, in ancient Greece, in mediæval Europe, in modern Afghanistan, its practical application is everywhere the same : protection of the stranger against his enemy, so long as he pays his way, and only so long. Pursuing this universal idea further, it will be seen that the Oriental conception of hospitality and its obligations is based on that of sanctuary, and is still, in many instances, not distinguishable from it. The practical reflection : You scratch my back and I will scratch yours, is at the bottom of all this, however far final developments in various places may have diverged from it.

Work out the idea of virtue, which for ages everywhere meant, and still in many parts of the earth means, valour in a man and chastity in a woman, being nowhere dead in that sense, as the modern European laws relating to marital and conjugal fidelity show, and you will find that it rests on very ancient conditions of society. The men preserved themselves by their valour, and the women preserved

their tabu to the men by their chastity. It was so everywhere. The zone as a term and as an article of costume shows this. There was always the female girdle or zone, the emblem of chastity, and the male zone, or sign of virility and fighting capacity.

Then there is the royal custom of marriage with a half-sister, found in ancient Egypt, in the modern Malay States, and in the lately deposed dynasty of Burma and elsewhere. This is not mere incest, itself an idea based in many an apparently queer form on a fundamental necessity of human society. It is and was a matter of self and family protection, to be found in a much milder form in the familiar English idea of the marriage of heir and heiress to preserve the "ring fence."

Take the custom of succession of brothers before sons, found in old England, in Burma, in some of the Indian mediatised States, and in other places, and we have again a custom arising out of the environment; the necessity of providing a grown man to maintain the State. And so one could go on to an indefinite multiplication of instances.

But in unworked-out directions, unworked-out, that is, so far as known to myself, the interest and principles are the same. Let me give an instance to which my attention was some years ago attracted, though I have never had the leisure to follow it to a satisfactory conclusion. At Akyab on the Arakan-Burma Coast is a well-known shrine, nowadays usually called Buddha-makān. It is repeated conspicuously further south at Mergui, and inconspicuously elsewhere along the coast. The name is an impossible one etymologically. Investigation,

however, showed that the devotees were the Muhammadan sailors of the Bay of Bengal, hailing chiefly from Chittagong, and that the name was really Badr-maqām, the shrine of Badr, corrupted in Buddhist Arakan into Buddha-makān, the house of Buddha, by folk-etymology striving after a meaning. The holy personage worshipped was Badru'ddīn Aulia, who has a great shrine at Chittagong, and is the patron saint of the sailing community. Badru'ddīn, as a name, is our old familiar friend Bedreddin of the popular English versions of the *Arabian Nights*. This Badru'ddīn Aulia is one of the misty but important saints, those will-o'-the-wisps of Indian hagiolatry, who is mixed up with another, the widely known Khwāja Khizar, *par excellence* the Muhammadanised spirit of the flood: and here is the immediate explanation. But Khwāja Khizar is mixed up with Mehtar Iliyās, the Muhammadan and Oriental form of the prophet Elias of the legends, to be traced in the same capacity in modern Russia. This god, and in some places goddess, of the flood is traceable all over India, even amongst the alien populations of Madras. We are now involved in something universal, something due to a line of popular inductive reasoning. Will it not repay following up, as a matter of interest, and probing to the bottom by a mixed body of investigators, Oriental and Occidental, in the same manner as Indian epigraphical dates and the eras to which they refer were, several years back, worked out and settled by scholars, mathematicians, and astronomers working together?

A study of the highest anthropological interest

is to be found in an examination of currency and coinage, and of the intermingled question of weights and measures. Perhaps nothing leads to so close a knowledge of man and his ways of life and notions, and perhaps no subject requires more sustained attention, or a greater exercise of the reasoning powers. Here, too, there is a universal principle to be unearthed out of the immense maze of facts before one, for, as in the case of the days of the week, there is a connected world-wide series of notions of the pennyweight, ounce, pound, and hundredweight, and of their equivalents in cash, based on some general observation of the carrying capacity of a man and of the constant weight of some vegetable seed, and also of the value of some animal or thing important to man. Here, too, a combination of Oriental and Occidental research and specialised knowledge is necessary.

But experience will show that in following up all such subjects as these, there is a Law of Nature, in addition to that of the fundamental community of human reasoning already alluded to, which must never be lost sight of, if the successful elucidation of an anthropological problem is to be achieved. This Law is that there is no such thing as development along a single line only. Everything in Nature is subjected to and affected by its environment. A little is picked up here, and snatched there, and what is caught up becomes engrafted, with the result that the subsequent growth becomes complicated, or even diverted from its original tendency.

Bear these principles in mind and work continuously as opportunity offers, and it will be found

that anthropology is a study of serious personal value. Not only will it enable the student to do the work of the world, and to deal with his neighbours and those with whom he comes in contact, throughout all his active life, better than can be otherwise possible, but it will serve to throw a light upon what goes on around him, and to give an insight into human affairs, past and present, that cannot but be of benefit to him, and it will provide him with intellectual occupation, interest and pleasure, as long as the eye can see, or the ear can hear, or the brain can think.

CHAPTER IV

THE VALUE OF A TRAINING IN ANTHROPOLOGY FOR THE ADMINISTRATOR

Extracts from an address to the Oxford Anthropological Society, delivered at Oxford in 1913, in the presence of a number of probationers for the Indian Civil Service.

I UNDERSTAND that I am called upon to address to-day, amongst others, probationers for the Indian Civil Service, and I wish to say at once that in urging them to train themselves in Anthropology I have no desire to add another subject to their already overburdened curriculum. My object in doing what is possible to forward the movement in favour of Schools of Applied Anthropology, for the benefit of such students as they are, is to ensure that they shall be put in the way of knowing for themselves the people with whom they may come in contact. The essential points of knowledge for young men going out to India to assist in the government are Languages, Administration and Law. I put them in that order advisedly, as the result of many years' experience, and to these I strongly desire to add Anthropology, for the reason that if they are to succeed in governing men, knowledge of their languages or of the administration and the law of the

country is not quite enough. It is also necessary to know the culture of the people one is dealing with. This is the knowledge that the Schools of Applied Anthropology advocated by myself and others are intended to provide, not so much by directly teaching it as by putting students in the way of acquiring it for themselves accurately. We know very well the weight of the tax placed on the intellectual powers of students by the Indian Civil Service examination system, and we know how loyal are the efforts they make to meet that tax. We have no wish therefore to add to the burden, but we do wish, firstly to interest them in Anthropology, and secondly by that means to lead them on to the study of it throughout life, to the benefit of themselves and of those amongst whom they work.

It will have been perceived in the remarks I have already made that I have been true to my principles, and have used only general terms in treating my subject, but as I am addressing those who are going to work in India, I propose giving one or two general hints not so much as statements of positive facts, but as my own views after forty years of study, which they can most usefully spend their spare time in verifying later on.

The outstanding human fact in India is caste, which is the principle of family exclusiveness carried to its logical conclusion, and in this form it exists nowhere else in the world. It is there a birthright of divine origin preserved as rigidly as possible by immemorial custom. It is maintained by as complete avoidance as practicable of bodily contact with all outsiders. This has made the marriage rules

most rigid and has led to female infanticide, child-marriage and widow celibacy. Work these points out for yourselves with such help as you can get from old students like myself. It has also divided the natives of India into a network of isolated communities, and rendered the population unable to combine against attack from outside. Hence the many foreign rulers in India. Hence also our own empire over a courageous, physically strong and mentally capable population. Hence, too, the tendency of the people to split up into innumerable small religious sects, each with its own system of ethics.

Caste, being the rule of life of the great majority of the people, affects every one in India. It will affect you who are going to India, for you will find that Europeans are there, owing to the conditions, a caste, whether they like it or not. It is this, and not the superciliousness of the Englishmen, that makes intimate social relations between British and Indian families impossible. The common complaint that our national characteristic of aloofness is responsible for our social isolation in India is a shallow observation. It occurs simply because it has been the rule of the land from a period long before our time.

The point to watch in the future is the breaking down of this social system. It is coming for a certainty, and its advent will mean a complete social revolution with all its consequences. The causes are Western education awaking the critical faculties of the natives and shaking their faith in the complete purity of their birthright, and modern

opportunities for cheap and rapid movement making personal isolation more and more difficult.

The second cardinal point about India is Hinduism. Like caste it permeates everything. Hinduism is more than a religion. It provides a rule of life guiding the conduct of practically the whole Indian populace, whatever the form of the creed they may profess. Modern Hinduism is the outcome of many centuries of growth and exposure to outside influences, and is divided nowadays into two almost separate parts, philosophy and practice. The philosophy is monotheistic and the practice animistic: that is to say there is a theoretical belief in the supreme power of one God, combined with a practical belief in the powers of innumerable supernatural personages and forces. This applies chiefly to the higher castes and classes, but there is an enormous population below them who are known as the low castes—outcasts according to high-caste Hindu theory. Their faith is the primitive animism of the country largely tinged with the philosophy and the high moral teaching of the popular eclectic mediæval reformers of India, as to whom you should learn all you can when you get there.

It is these low castes that are becoming ripe for accepting Christianity wholesale. The higher caste Hindus and the educated natives generally are aware of this, and have started a strong revival of all the old native religions and of Hinduism especially. This is one of the chief causes of the unrest you will hear so much of when you get to India. And as to this you may usefully hear one or two things from an old anthropologist. The first point

to grasp is that the unrest is real, inevitable and natural. It is due entirely to the revolution caused in native life by the contact of old Eastern and Western civilisations. Our mere presence in India, as the controlling power with a strong distinct civilisation of our own, has seriously threatened the caste system, and the chief religion through the education we have imported wholesale. Western education is also completely upsetting the whole of the long established methods of treating women and it has created a new educated middle class, largely unemployed in a suitable manner, and therefore inflammable and disappointed, ready to fan the flame of unrest whenever possible. All this is the necessary consequence of the conditions resulting from our overlordship. It is essentially a state of things where anthropological training will avail largely to make you understand it, and by understanding it to keep the cool head required in a situation that can only become dangerous if ignorantly treated.

One or two more words with your leave. Be very careful to learn the spoken languages, or at least the chief language, of the province in which your lot is cast. You can never secure the interest of the people, or really know anything of them, unless you do. It is better for the people you govern that you should know their language well than that you should be first-rate lawyers or minutely accurate administrators. The other point is as regards the climate. Long continued residence in India affects the nervous system more than the muscles or the vital organs. It is

not so much, as you will be told, the liver, the spleen, the stomach or the head that are injured, as the nerves. The thing to avoid is the local "head," a common colloquial recognition of that insidious disease neurasthenia, the visible signs of which are irritability and loss of memory for small details, such as names and words. If you want to keep yourselves fit for work, endeavour to preserve your English steadiness of nerve, knowing that it is being more and more undermined by every year you spend in India.

I have spoken dogmatically because the time is short, but I wish you to understand that it is not my desire to dogmatise. What I have tried to do is to give you some of the conclusions resulting from many years of study, as a basis for you to work on for yourselves.

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